a hillside, the roofs of the lower tiers serving as
porches for those above. The population of this community
was estimated at about 150 adults. The individual house
is simple, its floor of beaten earth, its windows without
glass, no provision made for the escape of smoke from an
indoor firepit save doors and windows, and its furnishings
meager. Water is obtained from a neighboring stream. This
village boasts no specialized constructions and is without
shops. Larger villages, such as Betas or Ipsem, have a
number of buildings for special purposes, for example,
the police post and the Nestorian church in Ipsem, and a
definite mercantile section. Fields as well as house-yards
of the villagers are often marked out with extensive fences
of interlaced branches and thorns or of rubble. In the
smaller village described above, cattle and other domestic
animals were housed within the dwellings themselves during
cold weather, and in some locales in the area sheep are
used as cattle-guess or sheep-thiefs in the winter. The
"agglomerated" village pattern of rural occupation in the
Middle East and in Southern Europe has been noticed often,
but in the Hawraman district it is possible to find isolated
farm settlements of no more than one or two houses. The
Kirmāšān, who do not winter in the area, use for shelter a
black goat-hair tent flanked with rugs, in general appearance
not unlike that of Arab nomads, but less complex. Some of
these tents, such as those used by chieftains for summer
guest-houses, are quite spacious and of unique design.

There is no electricity in Rwanda, although it is connected with telegraph and telephone wires, and lighting is by fuel, gasoline, kerosene, or oil. After nightfall the streets are completely dark, save for a few shops or shebitoung open late and a rare door-lantern serving for visitors, and it is customary for those visiting at night to be preceded by a servant with a lantern, or to carry a light themselves.

Water is derived from a spring above the town, that which turns the mill Ami Sherbil, and flows down through the streets in small channels and pipes, frequently bridged or covered with flagstones. British engineers laid pipes connecting a series of three iron pumps to better utilize this water, but the pumps have long ceased to flow and are jealously distributed by the better educated, such as the tenchers, to Ekrem el-Sherbil, the Ahmadi caliph to whom a great number of ruined bridges and fortresses are referred by the villagers. In similar fashion the water follows several routes through the town, sometimes in the open and sometimes through pipes, those of the British and a few segments laid by the townspeople themselves. Most of the larger houses have an interior tank or basin, and pipes, closed during most of the day, lead in from the kitchen to there. The banks of this area, unlike some of their counterparts in the Middle East, have definite ideas on what constitutes "clean" water, that which is cold and clear, although they may have no appreciation of the relative purity. Ewelli Agha of Jiadien, whose father's

some has a fresh mountain spring running through it, vigorously refused to drink the water of Kwanzan, asserting it was "dirty" and made him ill. Because many of the channels are open, numerous things can get in the water, to name a few, dogs, chickens, infants, and refuse, so it carries disease, and the townspeople are cognizant of the fact. In the larger households the interior basins and water jars are filled just before daybreak when the water, after a night of running, is thought to be purer, and the women of poorer homes carry their water at the same time. "The higher in the town, the better the water," it is said, although this is no way seems to operate to condition the price of land.

The houses of the poorer townspeople are to be found clustered on the cheaper land of the residential upper town. While some are two-storey apartment buildings housing several families, the characteristic form is a small, rectangular mud-brick building of a single room with a tiled mud roof. The floor is of earth, the walls and ceiling unfinished, and the windows, if there are any, small, open loopholes in the walls. In lieu of a window door, a hanging of coarse cloth or blanketing may be used to shutter. Cooking customarily on earthen fire-pit in one corner, or, in fair weather, has a place just outside the door, but the diet of the poor does not require complex preparation. The furnishings of these homes are the sparsest: a few mats, a collection of tattered blankets and quilts from which the beds are made on the floor, a

ureds is more or less personal necessity for this class, and several cooking utensils and containers. Accommodations of this type are simple, but not unpleasant, albeit devoid of lighting, toilet facilities, and the like, and, because the climate is moderate, lack the fetid atmosphere which so often characterizes similar housing to the south.

It is possible, however, to put more detailed attention to the homes of wealthier persons, merchants and landowners, for they illustrate in greater variety the domestic life of the town. In these cases, houses of a number of rooms, there is almost always some attempt to realize an interior courtyard. In a number, this is only an area to the rear surrounded by a fence, in others, a yard flanked on three sides by the building with the fourth left open, and in the great houses, such as those of Lali Khan or Ra'uf Effendi, a "true" courtyard with the apartments of the house and high brick walls on all sides. These courtyards are flagged with flat stones or surfaced with hardened earth, and contain a rectangular basin or tank, either sunk into the ground itself or built up above it, watered by a pipe from an external supply. The walls of such houses, of mud-brick or stone, are finished with a layer of plastered mud on the outside and with the same material or real plaster within, and may be painted with a white, yellow, or light blue wash. The outer walls are usually extremely thick, two or three feet, and the outside windows of the first storey consist only of small, unglassed loopholes high above the ground. Doorways of

[illegible]

the legend the so-called "Hand of Fatima" (referred, almost certainly 22 2005 Jacob, to the daughter of the Prophet), a symbol found in almost all parts of the Middle East, particularly in amulet jewelry. The same sacrifice is applied to new additions to the house, and, in case a new storey has been built, the throat of the animal is slit over a window sill. It will be seen that [161] when a bride enters her new home, an animal is similarly slaughtered before the threshold and the animal's sandal is dipped in the blood. It is an incredible breach of 579 etiquette, if not criminal, to enter a house without announcing oneself, a usage which is supposed to have an origin in the life of the Prophet, and custom demands that the visitor knock and wait outside until admitted in. The door is usually left ajar during the day, but anyone save members of the immediate family are prohibited from entrance until permission is given.

Water flows past the houses in narrow stone-built 92 ● channels in the streets, and is conducted to an interior basin by means 78 of a pipe. Every larger house has somewhere, typically in 45 the vestibule of the front door, a huge earthen jar for drinking water with a capacity of twenty or thirty gallons which is filled whenever necessary. This jar, held a few feet off the ground in an iron or wooden frame, has a porous bottom through which the liquid is filtered, dripping slowly into a second receptacle beneath it, and, by reason of evaporation, the filtered water is cooled to

some extent. For immediate use, water is dipped into one of a number of quart jugs, an unfired cream-coloured vessel with a wide body, a long narrow neck, and a flaring mouth, turned on the wheel and imported commercially from Kuwait. For further clarifying, a piece of cheesecloth is often tied over the mouth of these jugs. Glass tumblers are used to serve water, and, if it is offered to a number of guests, it is necessary that the glass be cleaned after each person has used it. This is done by pouring out a little from the jug, circulating it in the glass, and tossing it on the earthen floor or into the courtyard. The water in the basin is not used for drinking, but for a variety of other purposes, washing cooking utensils and dishes, bathing infants, laundry, and so on.

It is interesting that the public bath, the hammam so much a feature of life in Medieval and Ottoman times, has largely disappeared in modern Kuwaiteas.[1] Bathing in Kuwaiteas is confined to private homes, and there is no place in the town, including the Khan or hotel, where a person might obtain bathing facilities for a price. The larger houses contain a closet or a small room for this purpose, and the bather is furnished with a basket or jar of water which he pours over himself with a dipper of some sort, usually a tin can. Waste runs out through a drain in the floor. Toilet facilities are also to be found in

[1] Beaumont, 1951, p. 175.

which the mCkxnig calls the townspeople to prayer. To the right of the porch, on the street leading up through the house, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mCkxnig might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may sleep on the floor at night if they wish. It is commonly held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the elites, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its counterparts preserved in Rwanda. The other three mosques in the town are quadrangular rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bwiru near the civil officials' club, and is scrupulous in term life as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques

[1] Beaucourt, 1932, pp. 64-65.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, volleted capital. From this side of the loggia two wooden doors each led to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out on the loggia and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of the guest house must also be ascribed a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road, built not over the lower-lying field—a latrine, adequates, with a hole in the floor, intended for the male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe over the garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two other wings of the property.

342 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to share or to receive female guests when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the latrine's waste-pipe over the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed themselves, collected waters, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, gourd cans or cow's skin containers. Some of these women took advantage of their errand at the farm to enter the area of the family house, either to pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to use the water basin. In this same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a more remote of the dwelling house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm. Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The outer central room looking towards the court represented the state-like, three-walled façade. The hard-packed earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred, low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this eiliang room two steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

[CONTINUES TOP OF P. 54 -- Ed.]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the house round the walls of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. This house was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also plated with a mixture of clay and chalk, a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and plated anew every time water was split upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and dignified on the floor as in the chair"[7]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron sheet, saj or sâca, on which the bread sheets, sáh, were baked were placed on the fire. The modern bee-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a spring or open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the household. Drinking water then had to be fetched down to the valley—a climb of more than half an hour—from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The barrier in the home was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.

341 342 361 369 [312] [364]

of the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though not connected with the family section of the house[39]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. To the left of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an earthen lid. In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it, to withdraw a water container under which a boy could let his crushing but water to be obtained from the tap in the bathroom, which also lay along the street wall with a small dressing room in front. Otherwise the bathroom was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Tepsenna. The house thus had three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-drained municipal water could be obtained. The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The courtyard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded by a small bank with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *loggia*—between, that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the case with the ceilings in the corner part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but communicated with it. It was entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

[351] [312]

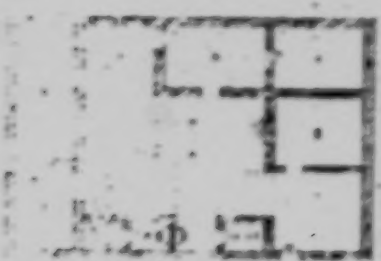

Fig. 36. Ground-plan of family house, Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: outdoor living room, b—e: etc.; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, lavatory; f: latrine; g: guest room; cf. fig. 26).

[illegible] ... Fuel supply

[illegible] on a sheet of bread and gourmet. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from some bowls[illegible], but forks and knives were not used[illegible]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is raki[illegible] or the less-distinguished ally. These are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a bulb from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a smaller basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Carrying of water. Water is transported to the home by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2376), home-manufactured and slightly barrel, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, (used, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a log sheet, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the sheet on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the sheet, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn sack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the settlements, both the clay-lined earthen earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls[illegible] but with whole branches trailed from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[illegible]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[illegible]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the iron, the cotton gun, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and firepots are mainly used for cooking purposes.

Heating. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temperatures of up to 36°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a barrack. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[illegible] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre, the smoke passes out [or does not, as the case may be] by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[illegible] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a small cube ... termed the "tzwa" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[illegible] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place sur-dessus de foyer un tabouret (*kursi*), on le recouvre d'une couverture[illegible] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sekkenaeli it was baked in [illegible] on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth oven that was hot for the day. The 6–7 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house preparing the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, loaves of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sekkenaeli bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. Milk is delivered daily from outside. Some is for use in relation to festival from the city by one of the lads, carried home on his head, mixed under the young, and placed in the glacier. The annual consumption of butter—about 30 pound cans full costing about 10 rands—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. The ß made by the elders wife. The accessories for the are disintegrating: the grease stove has replaced the iron hearth and removed, the basket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. Qibab is made specially by the husband[?] over a low charcoal basin. There is no [illegible] of water or good municipal water is laid on, with several taps.

When ordered, Qibab could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables and fruit were bought in the city by the husband and delivered by an errand boy. Cooking was either done over the fire in the smoking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and crushing. It is put into sacks knotted together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the hall, watched by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on tarpaulins sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain-cleaner woman commissioned for the purpose. The cleansed grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The completion of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours.

9019 As compared to grain, where most of the work comes either in
• 3-2 winter planting or harvesting, the subsidiary crops which require irrigation take constant attention in the growing season. The irrigation system of tiny dikes and channels in a tobacco field is at best a rather temporary one, and must be constantly repaired and reinforced. The flow of water must be started and stopped periodically, and one rarely sees a tobacco field in summer without some farmer with his long handled irrigation shovel, fussing with the watering system.

9355 Herding involves much less work, and the supervision of the flocks can easily be delegated. In the hills, the herdsman is supported by dogs. Morning and evening milking is not too time consuming, and even under quite extreme conditions winter fodder is never provided for the animals, so these very few man-hours are expended.

LAND TENURE.

4273 The characteristics of subsistence and cashlike techniques should
4'70 to a considerable extent influence the size and composition of economically cooperating groups and work-gangs, and thereby the form of the household. As is evident, however, the above type of activities lays down few imperatives and requires no cooperative division of labor in the fields. Furthermore, the addition... factor of land ownership intervenes, and influences group composition according to other principles.

Any comprehensive discussion of land tenure in the area, however, takes on considerable complexity. Property rights have never been mapped and settled (overall mapping and registration is now in progress), and conflicting interpretations and claims are advanced in the various contexts of modern legislation, Ottoman land code, tribal political organization, or de-facto power. For the moment, we may disregard the historical factors leading up to the present situation, and discuss only those factors that influence division of labor and social classes.

As far as the former is concerned, the basic contrast is between a/ land owned by himself, or land belonging to the government, but to which he has traditional usufruct rights, and b/ land on which

equivalent, e. g. for reaping 1/3 of the wheat crop, 1/3 of barley for plowing, food plus 100 Rls/day (= 2 shillings) or 150 Rls/day and no food.

The large landowner may even sell the rights to a certain village or area for a limited period of time to some intermediary capitalist for a small fee plus 1/3 of the intermediary capitalist's profits. This intermediary is then free to stipulate the share of the tenants' crop he wishes to collect as rent for the year. The number of non-productive links in the chain from the laborer on the fields to the ultimate landowner may thus become quite considerable, and the

Diagram No. 1. Shares of division of a cereal crop

division of the crop might be as illustrated in Diagram 1. More frequently, however, the intermediary capitalist is missing in the hierarchy, and the landowner, collecting direct from his tenants, is content with the smaller, traditional share of 1/3 of the crop on an irrigated land.

At harvest time, a characteristic work-gang in the grainfields of a western village will consequently consist of 1—10 men, in part made up of migratory labor, cutting the grain, and young women carrying it up the threshing place. Threshing and winnowing, on the other hand, are generally the work of only two men; plowing is usually a solitary occupation.

According to the irrigation of the tobacco-fields usually follows a different pattern. The various farmers who share a certain watering system either send it each in turn, or one man among them may hold an [illegible] superiority.

(3)

630 [illegible] of the mill - by which title he receives rent, and he supports the village feast feast. As an chief was later than the Chairman was closely interested.

630 Social Organization Areas other than Bailo

An explained section on information for groups other than the Bailo must be treated with reserve. The following notes may however prove of value to further students of the area.

631/ 177 Area A. It would appear that the tribes of this area such as the Kanni and the Shankan were originally organized on much the same lines as described above but that owing to their consistently long period of contact with an oriental administration the social forms have now become blurred. The general tendency seems to be for the land to become the property of absentee landlords having no kinship relation with their tenants. The villages moreover lack the close homogeneity of association among the Bailo.

632 Area C. Serious has already been made of the principle vertical tribes of this area, the Kimbi and the Kimbi. With the Kimbi as exception by far the organization is feudal rather than tribal, since the village rulers are sort of the same this group as their tenants. I was told that "all the Kimbi call each other" brothers, of course, that the whole tribe considers of one battle only. With the Kimbi the position appears to be somewhat different. Small fight, their permanent chief, is himself a Kimbi but is a tenant to Kabir and Kabir himself may each chief from the followers.

633/ 372 In the technological aspects the plains culture differs entirely from that of the hills, especially as regards housebuilding and agricultural equipment. An important sociological difference is that, owing to the limited water supply, the position of the village sites is determined and limited by the occurrence of water holes, and the villages in consequence are larger than those found in the hills. From the size of the surrounding cemetery and from archaeological considerations it would appear that some such sites [illegible for instance] have been in continuous occupation for several thousand years.

The Kwanin

632/ Though my information is extremely scanty the indications are that the social organization of tribes such as the Kwanin differs in many respects from that of the vertical tribes. In terminology the term kwanin appears to correspond to subject and Kimbi to battle but the identity may not be exact. The term kwanin corresponds to grant and implies a small settlement of kwanin to one location. This last term is also used by the vertical peoples. Thus among the Kwanin

Land. The land available for irrigation is roughly speaking all the arable land that can be effectively irrigated - the extent being limited both by the configuration of the land and the available water supply. Both considerably vary with circumstances. The irrigation system as at present developed may be a matter of purpose

1. Irrigation of rice cultivation - which in most villages appears to be a personal plot pertaining to the ryke given and not a tenant's holding in the ordinary sense.

2. Periodic irrigation of the vegetable gardens. In any re-organisation this would have to be substituted.

3. Periodic irrigation of existing tobacco areas.

4. In some villages (e.g. Bangalo) for driving the mill, which is owned either by the ryke himself or a near relative.

Any reorganisation of such a system would affect a number of different individuals whose immediate interests may be directly conflicting. The ryke for instance is hardly likely to abandon his rice plot which is his personal property merely to provide his tenants with more water to grow tobacco, but on the other hand if he monopolises the whole cultivation for himself the tenants above land or livelihood with will have a particularly grievance. It might well be found in fact that in any particular village the rearrangement of the water supply so as to provide a greater tobacco acreage would in practice involve a completely new allocation of land holdings to all the inhabitants, a reform which would certainly be very difficult to carry out. It may be significant that in those areas such a re-organisation of cultivation has in fact been brought about the irrigated tobacco plots are entirely in the ryke's and there has no old established system of tenancy rights supported by an ancestral tradition.

A further question of interest is the problem of "marginal" land. It is true that the land configuration, somewhat similar to that of the Algiers villages of the Bukkum District, sets a definite limit to the area that can be cultivated, but on the other hand there appears to be a number of small marginal areas, at present under scrub, which might be brought into cultivation if the available water were more efficiently utilised and the work intensive more sufficient to repay the extra labour involved. The 'rights' over such marginal land rest at present exclusively with the ryke.

Labour. The labour available is the labour of the tenant cultivators and their families; it would seem that the substitution of tobacco for cereals would affect the balance rather than the volume of work required. Under the present system the chief harvest comes in

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[illegible] the hiring owner to circulate by diverting some [illegible] water circuits. This is done at Shaqrukan, Dayet and Bergo and the operation of the mill then has an effect upon the irrigation system of the village. In Dergala however water supplies are less adequate for the present so diversion through the irrigation channels there is insufficient to drive the mill. A compromise has therefore been reached. The water is passed through the mill-stream on average six hours per day and to the mill for the remaining eighteen. Some difficulties arises on this account and while I was in Dergala a young man got a good thrashing from the [illegible] for turning the [illegible] during the night so as to get an extra supply of water for his tobacco seedlings. Here again then is an obstacle that might prove confusing to any hasty thought out scheme of agricultural reform.

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The owner of the mill is probably in most cases a user exclusive of the light. In Dergala it is the light himself, in Dergala a father-in-law of the light. The terms are to effect that the owner of the stone hires the mill at a fixed charge for each week of corn ground. The man who runs the stone himself receives the [illegible]. There is no suggestion of adding the corn to the millers. The millowner rarely obtains a control for the use of his apparatus. In this he is in competition with agriculturists apparatus by the loom, the latter being of course much quicker and producing a smoother and cleaner flour. In general however the tendency tendered to carrying the stone to homesites and bringing the flour back again is sufficient to ensure that the business remains with the local mill provided the price charged is not too high. In weighing disputes at any rate the mill seems likely to remain a permanent institution.

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The only other piece of technical equipment I intend to discuss in this study is the circle loom. The design of the apparatus is indicated in the diagram. It is nearly identical to the loom used elsewhere in Iraq, with the difference that the latter has the "heddle bar" suspended from a slight rectangular framework instead of freely hung from the roof as in the Kurdish example. This improvement permits the widening of the warp. Thus while the Kurdish loom has a maximum warp of about 120 inches, an apparatus which I saw in Baghdad could carry a warp nearly three times as wide. Kurdish weavers do not apparently ever attempt complicated patterns, they always use a plain weave. Stripes are sometimes introduced by means of coloured threads in the warp. Qualities of cloth produced differ mainly in the thickness and density of the threads. The five specimens in my possession, the coarse brown cloth, normally used for the trousers of labourers, has warp 10: weft 20 threads

*The rug loom is quite a different piece of apparatus; it is not mentioned here since the social references seems insignificant.